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ABSTRACT

As an introductory sketch to further understanding of the present in terms of the past, a conceptual framework is helpful for studying Canadian adult education. The suggested approach utilizes factors--time periods, influences, and activities, methods, programs, and organizations--to try to establish interrelationships. There were three major time periods within which influences operated: 1867-1913, 1914-1945, and 1946-1970, involving first massive westward migration, then reconstruction (after WWI) and depression, and latterly reconstruction (after WWII), establishment of new institutions and technologies, expansion of government, of universities, and of programs for adult education. Important influences included the effort to plant the institution of the folk high school (none took root, but the idea had extraordinary influence), the Social Gospel, ideas and concepts such as the "get ahead" attitude, the enormous contribution made by communications technologies which transcended geography to knit together the many parts and peoples, and the tendency for adult education to be used by the already privileged. These, inter alia, deserve to be starting points for further research. Furthermore, in an atmosphere wherein program continuance was often confused with function, the nationwide radio "forums" of the forties were discontinued without adequate assessment of their contribution. Looking toward the future, as the world undergoes its transition from industrial to post-industrial society, we can help to bring about a "learning society" through acceptance of the three-concept ethic--being, belonging, and becoming. (CP)

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SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES CONCERNING AN ENQUIRY INTO THE HERITAGE OF CANADIAN ADULT EDUCATION

J. Roby Kidd

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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J. Roby Kidd

Centre for Continuing Education
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, June 1979

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ABOUT THIS SERIES AND THIS PAPER

This Occasional Paper is the nineteenth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing papers which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

This paper brings to a wider readership the opening address given by Dr. J.R. Kidd, Professor of Adult Education at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, at "Adult Education in Canada: A Comparative Examination of Historic Roots, Policy Development and Present Systems, set in the Canadian Context" held on April 5-6, 1979 at UBC.

Roby Kidd is widely known in other countries as an outstanding international figure and scholar in adult education. His book How Adults Learn is used in many countries as a text for the field. Canadian adult educators are aware of a significant further dimension to his work, his role as documentor of the historical development of the field here in our own country. The three volumes of historical material he has edited, Adult Education in Canada (1950), Learning and Society (1963) and Coming of Age (1978), represent the most significant pool of historical materials available on the movement in Canada. Many other of his books, monographs and articles contain significant historical material as well, ranging from his study of university extension in Canada, and his early work on the uses of the media, to the impact of the "social gospel" on Canadian adult education, to name but a few.

When, therefore, we were planning a short course for early April, 1979 which included a consideration of the historical tradition of adult education in Canada, the first choice of someone to deal with that subject was Roby Kidd. His agreeing to prepare this paper was a further demonstration of Roby Kidd's continuing concern for things Canadian, in spite of his heavy international commitments as Secretary General of the International Council for Adult Education. It was symbolic of his present responsibilities that he delivered this paper in Vancouver on the first leg of a trip which took him to Hong Kong, India and Great Britain, before returning to Toronto.

There is no substantial writing on the overall history of adult education in Canada. This paper represents perhaps the first attempt (certainly since the brief essay written by Ned Corbett in the early fifties) to work out a conceptual framework for such a study. We are pleased to make it available to interested scholars and field workers who were not able to be present when Roby Kidd gave his address, and trust that it will spur on further activity in historical writing about Canadian adult education.

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SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES CONCERNING AN ENQUIRY INTO THE HERITAGE OF CANADIAN ADULT EDUCATION

Introduction

If we are to believe the popular press, every Canadian is engaged in a passionate and agonizing quest to discover or invent a personal and/or national identity. To be personal for a moment, I must be peculiar, because I have never known a time when I did not feel I belonged to a family, to a community, to a country and to the human family. That does not mean that I have been spared spiritual crises, doubts and uncertainties as my perception of myself and my roles har altered, enlarged, deepened. But at no time was I anguished about my identity--and forgetting the kind of hyperbole that writers and broadcasters love to spray over us, I expect that there are many Canadians who could say the same. But the historical roots and contemporary tensions are such that many other Canadians, perhaps a majority, do seek to find and achieve an accommodation with themselves.

To the extent that this is true, and not just popular cant, one explanation is the way in which we value, or disvalue experience, heritage, traditions, or if you will, our history. If you turn to some aphorisms about history, uttered or written by Canadians, what do you find?

> "If it is all the same with history, it need not repeat itself any more." Bob Edwards.
>
> "Canada's history is as dull as ditchwater and her politics is full of it." Maurice Hutton.
>
> "In truth there is nothing in history like the problems of today." R.H. Coates.
>
> "I like history because my reading of it is accompanied by the comforting certainty that all the people I meet in its pages are dead." C.F. Lloyd.

The Quebecois, with the motto "Je me souviens," have been somewhat more respectful of their past. A well known French priest admonishes his flock: "After your catechism, your Canadian history textbook should be the most precious of all your books." But Camilien Houde, Mayor of Montreal, was not so admiring. He said, "I would rather pass into legend than into history," and promptly did. For many Canadians <u>doing</u> was more important than recording:

an early Henry Morgan said about his youth, "Those were the days when we made history and took our whiskey straight."

Here and there we find some counter-assertion, but I would maintain that despite some current enthusiasm for the artifacts and industries of nostalgia, particularly where there is a profitable sale for them, we have acted as if our heritage is a bore, it is untruthful, it should be allowed to disintegrate, ("I come to bury Canada, not to praise her.")

I therefore find it extremely refreshing that Gordon Selman and Ronald Faris and others are undertaking a searching examination of our experience and traditions, not to exult or romanticize, but to understand us, our present and our future. I am pleased that you have permitted me to take a small part in what I hope will not just be a conference but an enlarging exploration or what is meaningful about us, and how much more we could accomplish in the future if we were clear-eyed about what we are and faithful to what we can become.

It seems to me that there are many outcomes from such an enquiry:

- For guidance in the Present for programs such as "People Talking Back."
- To satisfy our curiosity about how we reached our present position.
- To help in the investigation of what are the required components of a genuine "learning society."
- To help ascertain if adult education is important what level of public investment will be required for its support.
- If not to discover solutions, to aid us in probing significant questions.

For these purposes we have not produced very much in Canadian adult education. Selman has, and Faris, and along with them, Foster Vernon and Reg Gunn. Add a new doctoral thesis by Paddy Blenkinsop, the first genuine social history that has been produced for adult education, some books on Antigonish and some books on the Social Gospel by Richard Allen and similar movements, but that is about the total so far.

I could have taken my stand on the future, not on history, and will have more to say later about future possibilities. However, perhaps that is enough for an overture. As you see, I am not an existentialist, at least in the narrow

limited sense of how and now, espoused by many. Or to put it more accurately, existentialism is significant for understanding and coming to terms with oneself, for therapy, for coping with tensions. Many of the therapies operate to assist people to live one day at a time in order to grapple with or survive the problems of today. Implicit in the present, they assert, is found what is significant about the past and the future. But, I wonder! Of course, the Freudians do explore an aspect of personal history but again for use in improving personal health.

For understanding a culture and society, for developing a strategy for nations or the human family, even for making adult education meaningful, broader perspectives, including time perspectives, are necessary. This is not to denigrate therapy; it is to be clear about what it can or cannot do. I am not sure that a separate discipline of adult education is either possible or desirable, but if it is to be pursued, it must take its shape, texture and ideas from many fields of apprehending truth, not just the social sciences, and must not forget such deep influences as our heritage and land and climate and peoples.

This paper concentrates its attention on what may be learned from a deep and sustained examination of our own heritage and future. Reference is made, under "influences," to the disciplines that should also be part of a perspective. It is uncharacteristic of me not to have paid greater attention to the contributions that come from studies of other societies, particularly comparative studies. But, as soon will become evident, the search is already complex enough and the other kinds of vision must later be integrated.

I have labelled this talk "Some Preliminary Notes Concerning an Enquiry." I think this is an apt title for what I will try to do. At best it is an introductory sketch that I am offering, omitting many essential details. Perhaps you will feel that in choosing a title so cautiously that I am displaying decent or unnecessary humility. Not at all. The enterprise on which we are embarked is an audacious one. Like Francis Bacon, "We take all knowledge to be our province"; we are beginning to perceive dimly that a genuine learning society is possible, and that in a "post-industrial society" adult education might become, could become, the guide, the goad, the gauge and the governor of that society. Humbleness is not our stance: we have large and difficult ventures ahead, but as the Chinese put it, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step." And that is what I am taking.

Ours must be a cooperative enquiry with those active today and with our predecessors and our successors. We are related fore and aft by the effectiveness and honesty with which we organize and keep records of rich, warm, human experience.

A word about the organization of this paper.

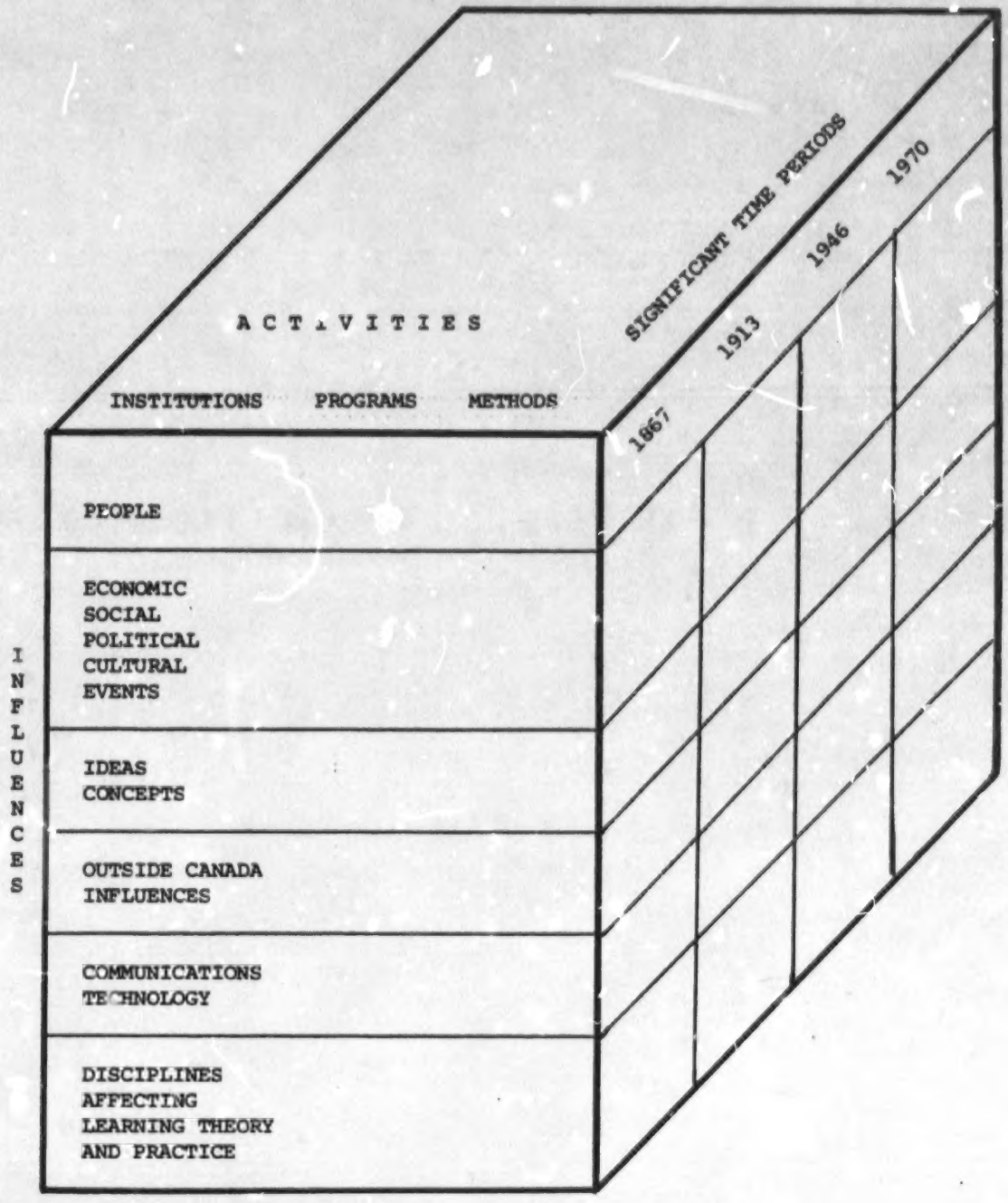
Its basis is comparative--time periods, influences, and adult education activities. I have identified a model but do it with some misgivings. Probably no term is so much used, and misused today, as model. Most of what are loosely termed models really are not models at all. Moreover, there is no magic in a model, unless it is used for mystic properties helpful in winning grants or a Ph.D. A model is a tool for analysis, extremely valuable if so employed, and in the main should be and can only be used for that important purpose. People are rarely if ever influenced to change because of models; people tend to seek to emulate or adopt accomplishments that are found in blood-and-sinew experiments and demonstrations, not generalized, idealized, anaesthetized experiences. Many of our models are at best two-dimensional matrices, for example, and reinforce our lack of awareness about process or change over time, or the need of continuity as well as change. So my model is a cube. But a cube is far too solid, is composed only of straight lines, and cannot begin to present all of the swirling, changing, enlarging, contracting factors that are part of our enquiry. We need to be watchful not to be enslaved by the very metaphors we use in trying to understand ourselves. Let me acknowledge at the outset that the model and formulations I will use have many deficiences, but offer one way of apprehending some truths, establishing some relationships, identifying some factors that are often neglected, and above all are a source of significant questions.

Axis or Chief Factors

The chief factors I shall utilize, and will try to establish some inter-relationships, are

1. Time periods
2. Influences
3. Activities, methods, programs, organizations

Chart I: Factors Affecting and Explaining Adult Education in Canada



Time Periods

I have chosen three time periods as being significant for Canadian Adult Education. Others might choose other periods, or identify a larger number of periods. I do not argue for my choice, although it was not haphazard, and I chose three rather than a greater number so that our initial discussion might not be clouded by complexity.

First	1867 - 1913	45 years
Second	1914 - 1945	30 years
Third	1946 - 1970	25 years

As you see, my terminal point is about 1970, but I use that year to stand for the present.

In the First period (1867-1913) there were already many fascinating adult education experiences, many of them of a local, sometimes of a provincial nature, but the national government and infrastructure was still being developed.

The Second period (1914-1945) was dominated by the First World War, with extraordinary growth in many forms of national consciousness, by the aftermath of the war, by accommodation to years of depression, and another deeply troubling but expansive period related to World War II.

The Third period (1946-1970) has seen the rise of adult education from something peripheral to general acceptance as a significant field of education.

Chart II: Significant Time Periods

BNA ACT — MASSIVE IMMIGRATION OPENING WESTERN PROVINCES — WORLD WAR I

1867 — 1913

WORLD WAR I — RECONSTRUCTION — DEPRESSION — WORLD WAR II

1914 — 1945

RECONSTRUCTION — NEW INSTITUTIONS AND TECHNOLOGIES — GOVERNMENTS. UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES IN ADULT EDUCATION

1946 — 1970

Some Significant or Representative Dates

These dates are included for illustrative purposes and the list is not intended to be complete or to deal only with events of greatest significance. The events selected are from various parts of Canada but the list does not begin to cover Western Canada and historical charts are needed for all Western provinces.

1867 - 1913

1867	Queen's University already offering correspondence courses
1869	L'Institut Canadien de Montreal, a major influence on education of adults
1870	First program of education (YMCA) for the military
1880	Act in Ontario providing support to Mechanics Institutes
1888	The Revue Le Canada francais began publication
1891	First conferences in Canada on University Extension. Opening of Extension classes at University of Toronto in 1899
1891	Ontario Government provides grants for school boards to open night classes for adults
1897	First legislation concerning technical education for adults. The Seath Report in 1910
1899	Opening of Frontier College
1900 on	Education about farming and rural life in many parts of the West
1900 on	Educational programs for immigrants in cities and by churches
1907-1908	Universities of Alberta and Saskatchewan inaugurated: both to provide university extension

1914 - 1945

1917	Khaki College organized in the Canadian army, prototype for army education in many other countries later. Very much enlarged in 1939

1914 - 1945 Cont'd

1917	Inauguration of Hautes Etudes Commerciales, University of Montreal, a major program for adults
1917	Beginning of Workers' Education Association of Canada
1918 on	Extension of night classes for adults to many school boards in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia
1920	Community radio, networks to come later; 1926 a university radio station at The University of Alberta
1930	Beginning of Extension Program at St. Francis Xavier University
1930	Increase in education about international affairs - League of Nations Society, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Couchiching Conference
1930	Beginnings in widespread use of 16mm films
1932	First Couchiching Institute on Public Affairs
1932-1939	Many training programs for unemployed in all parts of Canada
1935	Organization of the Canadian Association for Adult Education
1935	First course in Adult Education offered at Sir George Williams College
1935	Beginning of many national programs by radio: 1944 Farm Radio Forum; 1945 Labour Forum
1939	Organization of the National Film Board
1941	War Emergency Training Programme
1943	Citizens' Forum

1946 - 1970

1945-1946	Divisions of Adult Education created in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia
1946	All universities began to have some form of extension, or summer school. Organization of CADESS in 1959
1946	Initiation of thousands of community film councils with training of officers and animateurs
1946	Extensive programs for immigrants

1946 - 1970 Cont'd

1950 First demonstration in Canada of Group development process. Organization of Training Centre in Human Relations at Qu'Appelle

1950 Radio College and other adult education programs beginning Quebec

1951 Organization of program of extension at Laval University

1952 Beginning of Indian Eskimo Society

1952 First regular television broadcasts in Canada; community seminars on education; use of television

1952 Organization of the Institut canadien d'education des adultes

1955 Charter for World Literacy of Canada to pursue work for undereducated in Canada and abroad

1955 Labour education well developed throughout Congress unions

1958 Graduate Program in Adult Education at U.B.C. 1966 at O.I.S.E.

1960 Beginning of massive support programs for manpower training. NEWSTART programs 1969

1960 World Conference on Adult Education held in Montreal

1962 Organizing of Canadian Labour College

1965 Elliott Lake Centre for Continuing Education

1965 Beginning of expanded program of community colleges, many of which had programs and responsibilities for adults. Ontario Act in 1965

1966 Company of Young Canadians

Influences on Canadian Adult Education

Not much work has been done on the influences that have affected Canadian adult education, although Faris, The Passionate Educators is an important exception. Usually when the question has been asked the answers are one-dimensional and it would almost seem that we acted as we did because we were "talked into it" by the British, or French, or Scots or Americans.

If you think about the question for even ten seconds, you will identify not one, but many influences. For convenience and to fit the confines of a chart I have listed six:

- people
- economic, political, social and cultural events
- external influences
- ideas and concepts
- communications technologies
- disciplines affecting learning theory and practice

As a "professor of adult education," it is probably incumbent upon me to place the disciplines first, instead of last, but I do it this way to indicate that there is no hierarchy of the influences, that all may be significant.

For the purposes of illustration I have related these facts to the period 1914-1945, but of course most of the influences could and should be applied to all three periods. The disciplines and organized graduate education would become much more important in the period 1946-1970.

Chart III: Influences on Canadian Adult Education 1914-1945

	1914	1920	1930	1940	1945
THE PEOPLE					
PERSONS Corbett Levesque					
ECONOMIC POLITICAL SOCIAL CULTURAL EVENTS	WORLD WAR I AFTERMATH AGRARIAN CHANGE INDUSTRIALIZATION DEPRESSION WORLD WAR II				
EXTERNAL INFLUENCES	WAR ENGLAND UNITED STATES FRANCE OTHER EUROPE				
IDEAS CONCEPTS	"GET AHEAD" SOCIAL GOSPEL UNIFY CANADA AGRARIAN REFORM SOCIALISM				
COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY	RADIO 16mm PROJECTOR NEWSPAPERS AUTOMOBILE AIRPLANE				
DISCIPLINES AFFECTING LEARNING THEORY AND PRACTICE	PSYCHOLOGY SOCIOLOGY ANTHROPOLOGY BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY BRAIN RESEARCH etc.				
THE LAND					

1. People

There were real people in adult education in the 1914-1945 period. Some you know well, like Tory and Coady and Corbett and Levesque, educationists with national reputations, as well known in Canada as any educationists have ever been. About Henri George Levesque, Jean Boucher, then Director of the Canada Council, said: "Every school in which he has taught, if it had no natural greatness, he has set on the road to greatness; everything that he has done has been marked with the spirit of everlasting truth." From personal experience I could make similar claims for the other three and perhaps a dozen more.

There are other figures you may not know, Partridge of Saskatchewan, Robert England of British Columbia, and Peter Sandiford of Ontario, for example, and perhaps every province had its quota. These were men, and women too, with more than parochial or continental minds; they were open to ideas from Europe and the United States but most of their efforts in adult education were at least in part inventions and innovations. And most of them had some decisive impact on their fellows.

2. Events

Events dominated this period, literally horrendous events, events that made or marred or destroyed men--World War I, aftermath and reconstruction, the Great Depression, World War II. Men and women did not control these events; they responded to them and in their response much of adult education method and technique was tried out and tested. In western Canada, all through the period, agrarian advance, retreat, reform, renewal, was the consistent theme, just as it was industrialization in much of central Canada. Of all of these influences, only the impact of the agrarian movement on education has been told, in the thesis, still to be published, by Paddy Blenkinsop.

3. External Influences

The Crusades opened western Europe to the ideas and cultures of the whole world, and in our own time, two world wars opened Canada to the "winds of change." During the period under review it is probable that the greatest external influences on Canadian adult education came from England, but while we did not know it, that influence was already waning. Some notions and

programs did come from France, but comparatively little: Canadian adult education learned more from the Danish folk high schools and such movements as Sokol from Czechoslovakia, than from France. It is interesting to note that while several efforts were made to plant the institution of the folk high school in Canada, none took root; but the idea of the folk high school had extraordinary influence on men like Donald Cameron and what they organized and created.

Influences did come, again and again and increasingly, from the United States--agricultural extension, university extension, study groups, chautauqua--but careful analysis of these and other programs will indicate that while the chief organizers in Canada did know of somewhat similar programs in the United States, the form and character and content of the programs here were not as found elsewhere. For example, Workers' Education in Canada was not unlike that in France, England, the Nordic countries or the United States, but there were additions and innovations, it was not a transplant. No study has dealt in much detail with these influences, either nationally or provincially, where the main impact was found.

4. Ideas and Concepts

This is another area where work is needed. Richard Allen, and others, have probed the influence of the Social Gospel and its impact on religion, politics and social work, but much more needs to be done about the influence of the Social Gospel on education, about which in a paper I prepared, I have simply indicated some of the questions to be explored. It was true during much of the period that a generalized "get ahead" gospel, like that in the U.K. at the end of the last century (and perhaps also in the 20th) and in the United States for much of the century, was a pervasive philosophy, if that word can be applied to anything so unsystematic; and "getting ahead" was an important goal for much adult education. In the western provinces, ideas associated with unifying the whole nation operated side by side with those of agrarian reform. During the whole period, some notions of Marx collided with and combined with various reform ideas and cooperation, although avowed or identified Marxism never won many adherents.

Here is a field crying for research, for answers about what made us, or to state sharper questions to be investigated in the present.

5. Communications Technologies

In 1920 a man in Saskatchewan was asked how he voted and replied, "I vote the railroad, the whole damned railroad and nothing but the railroad." Canada was made and sustained by its communications: it was transformed by the train, the automobile, the bus, the truck; it was knit together (or fractionated) by the airplane, and radio and television. In a country that defied geography, where distance and King Winter were a constant stimulus and threat, communications that could overcome these barriers were of such significance that despite the fact that most politicians always spoke resoundingly about the virtue of private enterprise most of the communications technologies were nationalized. At one stage the newspaper was the chief educative influence for adults; later it was radio. Later still more Canadians saw movies in church basements and such places, than in cinemas, and proportionately more than any other people in the world. A. Weir and Frank Peers have written about the CBC, but the total impact of these technologies on adult education is still to be considered. If Bernard Ostry is to be heeded about the coming revolution by communications, it is well past time that we understood what we have done, and could do, by these technologies.

6. Scholarly Disciplines

If we were dealing with the 1960's and 1970's I would have much more to say about the impact of scholarly disciplines and university graduate instruction on learning theory and practice. In fact, in the time period 1914-1945 the impact was small and that is probably a blessing because much of academic psychology was woefully wrong in the main conclusions about human learning potential over much of that period. Thorndike's publications, Adult Learning and Adult Interests, often hailed as a foundation stone for adult education, did not pass unnoticed. But there was little impact of other psychologists, except in a general way by Freud, and little contact with sociology, anthropology and biology. Among philosophers, Dewey did have some influence and here and there impact was registered by John McMurray, Reinhold Niebuhr and some Catholic theologians. However, a course in adult education offered in 1945 was extremely thin gruel when it came to theories of learning, motivation, growth, and no one had yet put together much of development theory.

Lack of time demands that I move on to review activities. Although I am aware that under influences I have not properly considered such factors as land, climate (the Canadian winter) or the peoples, many of them immigrants.

Activities in Canadian Adult Education: Some Major Factors

Just as we have assumed, under "influences" (Chart III), that the land and the people are factors that must always be held in mind--although frequently forgotten--so the dominating factor that must not get out of focus or out of frame when considering educational activities is the learner. It could be argued, fairly I think, that the attention given to the learner and to learning, as contrasted with institutions and teaching, that occurred in the 1960's was the most important single development and the impact still goes on. Yet decisions are made every day in adult education based on such considerations as institutional convenience, short range economics, job needs, even abstract theories, that have little to do with learners or learning and thus distort the provision of adult education.

1. Publics

In our chart, I have listed publics and by publics I refer not to individual learners but to distinct groups of people who have special learning interests, styles and needs that affect or should affect the kinds of activities provided. It now seems obvious that the adult education offered during the period 1946-1970 was utilized far more often by those who were already advantaged--whom we tend to group loosely and not always accurately as "middle class" or "bourgeoisie"--and less frequently by the disadvantaged. It was not intended or planned that way but the result was probably to widen the gap, not narrow it, between the "haves" and the "have-nots." However, there were many examples where adult education did serve as a means for individuals and groups to make large gains in educational attainment. We should be neither surprised nor depressed (as the planners of the Open University in England were surprised and depressed during the initial year of OU), to see how many well-educated flocked to take advantage of the programs. We have always known that satisfaction in education increases the appetite for more. No one needs to wear a hair shirt because that is so or that the

Chart IV: Activities in Canadian Adult Education 1946-1970

THE LEARNERS	1946	1950	1960	1970
INSTITUTIONS	PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF ADULT EDUCATION UNIVERSITY EXTENSION COMMUNITY COLLEGES LIBRARIES OTHER			
PROGRAMS	NATIONAL FARM RADIO FORUM CITIZENS FORUM CONTINUING EDUCATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL PARENT EDUCATION OTHER			
METHODS	DISCUSSION GROUP DEVELOPMENT STUDY-TRAVEL SIMULATION-ROLE PLAYING EDUCATION THROUGH ACTION OTHER			
PUBLICS	RURAL LABOUR MIDDLE CLASS IMMIGRANTS INDIANS AND INUIT WOMEN OTHER			
NEEDS	MANPOWER RETRAINING ECONOMIC COMMUNITY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SELF UNDERSTANDING, EXPRESSION LONELINESS OTHER			

immediate consequences were more opportunities taken by the advantaged. However, we may have to redouble efforts, become more resourceful and tenacious in providing opportunities for others, certain publics such as depressed rural people, workers (particularly those not organized), immigrants, the Indians and Inuit peoples, women, and any other group that has been conspicuously absent. One kind of comparative research is to discover what is the relative and comparative participation in adult education, for what purposes and at what levels, for these and other groups. Only then can we be effective in planning new strategies.

As is reflected in Learning and Society and Coming of Age, the record was not always a dismal one. There were approaches to and activities for Indians and Eskimos and immigrants and women and rural poor and workers that were imaginative and effective. But the records have not been well collected or analyzed: it is difficult to distinguish between success and failure, between good fortune and good planning. It is somewhat curious that while there have been a good many studies of participation during the quarter century, most of them are so-called "drop-out" studies, almost none of them planned and sustained efforts to reach special publics. We have been as guilty as the medical practitioners in failing to consider health in our preoccupation with disease. And even that is to assume that a "drop-out" was a failure, when we know full well that many drop-outs were showing excellent judgment in deciding that what was offered was not what they wanted or needed! Alan Tough and his associates have conducted a series of enquiries about individual participation: we need larger and sustained studies of group participation as well.

2. Institutions

It is true, of course, that money and organized providers of education make an obvious and measurable difference in the activities offered. In the early 1960's when provincial manpower programs were financed and offered, totals of adult enrolments mounted steadily. The same occurred later in the decade as new community colleges opened their doors all over Canada, and when the part-time and non-credit enrolment at night began to exceed the full-time and usually credit enrolments during the daytime.

The decade 1945-1955 saw the rise of provincial departments of adult education in several provinces such as Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan and much

greater participation by all provincial governments in adult education support even when not focussed through a specialized department. This was also the time of growth of school board provision for adults, notably in such centres as Vancouver, St. Catharines, Montreal and Toronto. There are still significant programs for adults under school boards, but one does not hear much about them at present and the last major study, so far as I know, was my own, Eighteen to Eighty, about the Toronto Board of Education and published in 1962. Nor has there been a total study of university extension, which was the dominant institution for adult education in Canada for at least forty years, since my 1956 effort. There has been no review of adult education in community colleges, or in libraries. The CAAE published a study of adult education in some institutions such as hospitals and penitentiaries back in 1952; nothing has replaced it since, at least until the current enquiry about education in Canadian federal penitentiaries (the Thomas Commission). It is obviously true that a study of what happens to the learner who is attached to an institution has many limitations that must be corrected by other kinds of probes, but it does seem that Canadians have seriously neglected a form of research that is feasible and essential. The Department of Andragogy at the Université de Montréal has assigned some of this investigation to students; perhaps more of us should have encouraged them. At any rate, there are yawning gaps to be filled, and such institutional assessment should be planned to be done at least every ten years.

I have not touched on specialized adult education institutions, such as Frontier College, Thomas More Institute, Canadian Labour College, some residential schools supported by churches and cooperatives, and the Quetico Centre. Perhaps my list is too short because I am no longer in close touch. I believe that by simply listing these examples, and analyzing the purposes they serve and the reasons why they came into being, we would throw up a score of research questions which should be considered.

One significant development of the quarter century was the creation of provincial associations of adult education such as the Pacific Association for Continuing Education. So far as I know, we do not even monitor or study comparatively their functioning, success or difficulties; although it seems obvious that there would be much to learn from each other's work.

3. Programs

I might have included the media of communication under activities rather than under influences, for they are both.

The forties were the decade of four national forum programs, although we now hear only of two: National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum, Labour Forum and Serviceman's Forum. All were important. The reasons why they were all discontinued (not one of them "failed" if that word is used carefully) are extremely important but there are no reviews that are very complete. I value Ron Faris' book very much. But there are factors that explain, for example, the discontinuance of Citizens' Forum that have never been recorded or examined. I cite this fact because it has considerable relevance for the 1970's and 1980's if we are again going to offer programs in public affairs.

There is insufficient time, and this is not the place, but I would like to make one other assertion about programs that deserves scrutiny. I believe that we have often confused programs with what I would call functions. In my view, Canadian adult education accepted the function of educating the public about social issues that should never have been discarded. The Swedes did not neglect it; they have adapted and modified their study circles and other such programs but have continued to serve the function. It may have been true that the form and content of the forum programs needed to be modified drastically, that there might have been the need for new program forms, but the function should have been served. Books come and go, but a library keeps on; to cite a crude parallel. Not only did we confuse programs and forms of activities with functions, we elevated ad hocery to a principle which it is not; it is a denial of principle. I think that careful examination of some of these programs, probing deeply about purposes, means, forms, inhibitions, problems, would reveal some deeply important principles, as well as some obvious and elementary guides to action, such as that you cannot organize study groups unless you assign the job of organizing to somebody!

The books Learning and Society and Coming of Age show that Canadians have been imaginative in developing programs--in many spheres. Some of them were initiated and then phased out, a normal procedure. But it is also a normal procedure in a community when a person dies and the reasons for death are not known, to have a systematic and orderly review. Often it is just old age, the "leaf falling from the tree", but sometimes it is the result of

carelessness that could be eliminated and sometimes there are murderers who ought to be restrained, not canonized, as some of them have been.

The program planner of today should of course consult the needs of his learners and of society but he also could have a rich source of ideas and demonstrations from past and contemporary experiences, if he and she would or could consult them.

4. Needs

Human needs are many and are obvious sources of educational activities. But how much do we know about the ways in which educational organizers have utilized needs as the basis for activities? This was a feature of the early work in the Antigonish Movement, and the so-called kitchen meetings, in their hundreds, were an essential step in such a process of transmuting needs into programs. During the 1940's economic needs tended to head the list--with programs for employment or job change, or production, or marketing. However, even at that time, other matters were not neglected. Farm Radio Forum was not designed to improve farm production and marketing although such topics were discussed, but as a vehicle to deal with all of the needs of rural people, including loneliness and lack of cultural opportunities. In the 1950's there were many programs to help people become more efficient in social roles (family life education and new roles for managers, for example), but these forms of role training shaded into the expression and/or education about deeply personal needs that have advanced so far in the 1960's and 1970's. It would be important in adult education for us to have a better understanding of the needs that have generated or resulted in good programs (for groups or individualized learning) and what shifts have occurred, are occurring, and may occur in the future. Such a study can have extremely practical outcomes but also might have something to contribute to current attempts to generate better theory about human development after the age of twenty. On the practical side, for example, we might note what may be a simplification but is still useful, that in the 1960's one could and was almost expected to talk or program unceasingly about sex, but that programs about death and dying were only acceptable at the of the 1960's, and it is only now possible or common to talk meaningfully about loneliness. It may be feasible to develop hypotheses about need reduction through adult education that could offer a base for further study as well as better educational practice.

5. Methods

We have often claimed that adult education personnel have invented, pioneered or tested most of the improved methods of education. I think that the assertion is true, but it has never been carefully investigated; there are few studies that I know of, over time, about the evolution of methods. It would be fascinating, as well as have practical results, to note, for example, that "case study" was invented (it was probably invented again and again, like correspondence study) by Solon and the Greeks and handed down by the legal profession, almost unchanged in their practice until the middle 20th Century and then taken over by those teaching business administration and revised, modified, extended, enriched, and is now being taken back by the lawyers. In my own teaching, I give credit to Moreno and the book Who Shall Survive as the source of much that we know about role-playing, social drama, psychodrama and simulation, yet there must be many other progenitors of these dramatic forms of expression. The study of methods over time and in their contemporary interrelationships can have immediate practical effects on good programming and also contribute to development theory, even to a better understanding of man, who is homo ludens as well as homo sapiens (if he is that?).

In the period immediately after World War II there was considerable research about methods, much of it arising from army and corporation training. Perhaps most of the immediate practical outcomes were "milked" by these studies, although they were not everywhere in use and some efforts might now be utilized in disseminating what was learned. But the deeper studies about methods, their comparative effects, their utility for certain purposes or publics rather than other purposes, offers much opportunity for further study. It used to be that some of our university colleagues in the humanities and social sciences would refer to any attempt to improve method as a "gimmick"; perhaps we have unconsciously adopted this jaundiced view ourselves and thus failed to pursue some promising enquiries or apply some useful practices.

The Future

What can we say about the future? How will the 1970's be judged--and the 1980's?

I do not know. Canadians are not much more illuminating about the

future than they have been about the past, even though the name given to Alberta, somewhat derisively and before the discovery that God had annointed them with oil, was "Tommorrow Country".

Eugene Forsey has no lament that the future is unpredictable: "I have considered it one of God's greatest mercies that the future is hidden from us." William Irwin Thompson, a sometime Canadian, said "The future is beyond knowing and the present is beyond belief," and David Lewis Stein went further: "The past is gone, the present is full of confusion and the future scares the Hell out of me!" However, another author has written that "Canada will not become a great country, its future not safe or splendid, but as free and audacious as any future can be in this world and time." Perhaps that is enough for perspective--and it does introduce a mood of optimism.

It is interesting to note in the reviews of Coming of Age, which covers the 1960's, that some reviewers have noted with surprise the optimism that was then expressed and ask what dire things may be happening in adult education in a period of restraint, cutback and repudiation. My first reaction to that question is that in general we were never very conscious of our growth in status and now while we have worries, we have not experienced reverses that match those now facing schools and universities. We may still be in a period of growth as well as adjustment and consolidation. However, as we find in our Department at O.I.S.E., it is not easy to have growing demands on a Department within an institution that is in a mood not just of no-growth but of retrenchment, engaging in such survival practices as "saving jobs for the boys."

The futurists admonish us to look boldly ahead, to choose a date such as 1990 or 2000, dream and describe the kind of adult education establishment we should like to see, and then identify the steps (history in reverse) necessary to achieve such a destiny. That's a gross generalization; Roger Boshier, in an important paper entitled "The Future of Adult and Continuing Education: Purposes and Issues," has analyzed the different modes of "futuring" as well as applying them to some future "scenarios" of his own.

We can, of course, describe the kind of society that could be entitled a "learning society," and even predict what will be needed in resources, organization, media, relationships, training and research, if the field of adult education is to achieve a significant role.

Without accepting any facile "futurist" approach, an investigation of perspectives could clearly outline what will be the outcomes if we carry out certain principles that have been accepted verbally such as lifelong learning, continuing education for all decision makers, equity in access for education for all ages and social economic groups.

We could, and perhaps we should go further: we could consider adult education, as sometimes we do, as a strategy for development at the very core of economic, social and political growth. That is how some of our brothers in developing countries view our calling, and should we settle for less? If we have such an identity and such a future role in mind, our gaze must be much keener and we may need to give attention to larger questions and longer vistas, as Eric Trist has done in his paper "The Environment and System Response Capability: A Futures Perspective":

> The world, as I see it, is in a transition channel between an industrial and post-industrial order. The degree of change involved in making this transition is as great as that which, during Neolithic times, produced what Gordon Childe called the urban revolution when cities and written language first arose, on a background of settled agriculture, irrigation and metallurgical advance.
>
> The Industrial Revolution, of course, started the particular change dynamic we are now in. But only relatively recently has it begun to be realized--and not yet by the majority of people--that the advanced industrial societies which have been growing unabated through the last 150 years (albeit through depressions and wars) are not likely to persist without substantial modification too much longer. Our present pattern is not an end state, but a way station to a post-industrial order which will be built on radically different premises. It is quite possible, however, that we may not succeed in negotiating this passage. There are then available a number of doomsday scenarios to suggest what may happen to us.
>
> The successes, the achievements of advanced industrialism, are now producing increasingly dysfunctional and negative effects. Unless these are coped with by means scarcely as yet evolved, they will result in severe dislocations, which will prevent the realization of a more beneficent future. Some dislocations are already beginning to manifest themselves.
>
> We now have to think in world terms, to accept the advent of global interdependence. But the cultural heritage of the industrial revolution (in values, thought-ways, policies, institutions and technologies) has left us

unprepared for this. There is a mismatch. Much unprogramming from, and unlearning of, the old will have to take place before the way is open for new social learning to occur of a kind which can form the basis for constructing a viable human future.

Given the accelerating change rate, deriving from the information-based technologies of the Second Industrial Revolution, it is small wonder that the environment in all its many aspects has emerged as a major concern--for people in government, industry, and the trade unions alike. These aspects include the economic, technological, organizational, urban, political and socio-cultural, with resource constraints increasingly evident as boundary conditions. We have become concerned with the environment because we are concerned about the future with which it is linked, and the future is becoming increasingly unpredictable. As Dennis Gabor has said, "One cannot predict the future, one can only invent it" (or fail to invent it). In fact, there is no such thing as the future. There are only "futures," which represent alternative possibilities. Which of the possibilities will be realized depends not a little on the choices we make--which in turn depend on our values--and also on our taking an active rather than a passive role. The paradox is that under conditions of uncertainty, one has to make choices, and then endeavor actively to make these choices happen rather than leave things alone in the hope that they will arrange themselves for the best.

Reference projections of the world environment which extrapolate ongoing trends into the future tend to yield disaster scenarios. Things do not seem to be going to arrange themselves for the best. But it is the function of reference projections to disclose the areas in which the continuous critical problems of society are likely to become most acute (to use a term of my Wharton colleague Dr. Hasan Ozbekhan). Reference projections make the case for intervention. At least that is how recent planning theory looks at them.

But we did not think this way at all until a very few years ago. We took the wider environment as given. We thought it would stay put....

During the '70s turbulent conditions have become increasingly salient. Here are some examples.

- When OPEC appeared, and quadrupled oil prices, a long latent energy crisis became manifest, suddenly, to us all.

- The international monetary system based on fixed exchange rates has broken up--causing the present turmoil of floating exchange rates

including the recently falling U.S. dollar. No alternative system to Bretton Woods is in sight.

- A new condition of stagflation has appeared--endemic and persistant inflation, along with endemic and persistent unemployment. Neither can be understood in terms of current economic models. No alternative models are yet available.

All these events--and there are many others--have come as surprises. They were not predicted. They are not understood. For this reason they create bewilderment, raising the levels of anxiety and suspicion. Such is the experience of turbulence and loss of the stable state.

Trist then goes on to identify four "generalized environmental types": placid random environment, placid clustered environment, disturbed reactive and turbulent. In his view we are now in a turbulent field.

Trist also identifies four modes of response--inactive, reactive, proactive and interactive, and explains why each could be appropriate with respect to a particular environment, and that the interactive mode is the most appropriate for a time of turbulence. I will not go further because in condensing Trist, I have already done violence to the force and symmetry of his thinking, but I wish to make a point, that our mode of response in adult education needs to be appropriate: we need to find the equivalent of interactive.

Conclusion or Next Steps

What is the result of the examination of these charts and heritage data?

It has uncovered enough research projects to occupy a good "team" for several years. It is my belief that if the examination was conducted in phases, beginning with the application of many good practices on which there is little disagreement, that considerable improvement in quality is possible in the short run.

While I could have presented the data in a contemporary slice of life, using a conventional matrix, I believe that the three-dimensional form,

despite its limitations, does throw up many questions that are rarely considered in typical two-dimensional matrices.

Since I provide for history and futures, I am emphasizing the importance of change. But I do not intend any slavish acceptance of change, that all change is desirable, when much of it is not. I believe that the linked notions of yin and yang, change and continuity, are necessary. That is why I stress the idea that there are functions in adult education, acceptances of continuing objectives, that ought to be maintained even though the forms and activities, the vehicles for the functions, may be modified or be replaced. Where should one put functions in a three-dimensional model? Perhaps like such underlying factors as purpose, peoples, land, and the learner, functions need to be painted over all.

It is apparent from examination that there are many influences on adult education, not just money or the social sciences. I anticipate that legislation and the sources of money may have greater impact in the future than in the past, but that is not certain. Some of the exercises borrowed from the futurists might be applied to establish hypotheses for study. Of course there are several large questions that remain unanswered. Examples:

- Will Canada continue as the nation we know?
- Will adult educationists realize that they have enormous opportunities and influence? Will we accept that fact and act on it?
- Will adult education cease to have a special identity and commitment, and will the organized learning of adults be distributed through all of the institutions and associations in society, as well as be in the control of individual learners? There are both centripetal and centrifugal forces at work.
- Will some form of learning society be achieved?

Obviously the answers to some of these questions will markedly affect adult education in its goals, forms, institutions, methods, outreach.

Despite reading several possible "scenarios" I cannot myself see any decline for adult education in this century, even if we do not fully live up to our potencialities. I believe that we should be more responsive to our own heritage and opportunities, but in doing that we will utilize all or most of the intellectual forces available. As I said earlier, I do not myself see adult education as nothing more than an applied social science discipline: I believe that many intellectual forces are present and should be utilized--some social sciences, some humanities, some aesthetics, some natural sciences, some learning from our heritage, peoples, environment, and our place on the planet earth. Is that cloudy rhetoric? Or is any lesser concept likely to distort and diminish?

Naturally I believe that we must have an ethic, but one that allows for plural goals and beliefs. For myself I am trying to contain the substance and define the ethic under three interacting concepts--<u>being</u>, <u>belonging</u>, <u>becoming</u>. I think that despite the need for research we do know enough to carry on the enterprise and should trust each other enough so that we can get on with the cooperative task of making learning a principle of health and growth for every member of the human family.

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